

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06

ACDA-07 SAJ-01 OMB-01 TRSE-00 EB-07 OES-06 EA-07

DHA-02 STR-04 CU-02 AF-08 /117 W

----- 042956

R 071753Z JUL 76

FM AMEMBASSY BONN

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0252

INFO AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST

AMEMBASSY BUDAPEST

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW

AMEMBASSY PRAGUE

AMEMBASSY SOFIA

AMEMBASSY WARSAW

AMEMBASSY BERLIN

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY ROME

USMISSION USBERLIN

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 BONN 11444

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR GW XH

SUBJECT: FRG VIEWS ON EASTERN EUROPE

REF: BONN 11070 NOTAL

BEGIN SUMMARY. FRG AMBASSADORS IN EASTERN EUROPE MET
IN BONN JUNE 21-22 WITH CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT, FONMIN
GENSCHER AND FONOFF PERSONNEL TO REVIEW STATUS OF THE
FRG'S RELATIONS WITH THE USSR AND EASTERN EUROPE. THEIR
CONCLUSIONS ARE GIVEN BELOW. END SUMMARY.

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1. THE MAIN THEMES AND CONCLUSIONS OF A MEETING HELD JUNE 21-22 OF FRG AMBASSADORS IN EASTERN EUROPE WERE THE FOLLOWING:

A. DETENTE: THE SOVIET UNION IS OBLIGATED TO CONTINUE TO PURSUE DETENTE BECAUSE OF ITS DEPENDENCE ON WESTERN TECHNOLOGY AND BECAUSE OF THE THREAT PRESENTED BY CHINA. HOWEVER, DETENTE WITH THE WEST HAS AND WILL RESULT IN THE SOVIETS TIGHTENING THEIR HOLD OVER EASTERN EUROPE.

B. FRG POLICY: TRADE (INCLUDING CREDITS, ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER) IS THE MOST, PERHAPS ONLY, IMPORTANT WEAPON THE FRG CAN USE IN BILATERAL RELATIONS WITH COMMUNIST STATES. THE FRG SHOULD BALANCE CONCESSIONS ON TRADE ISSUES WITH DEMANDS FOR PROGRESS ON HUMANITARIAN QUESTIONS. ON MULTILATERAL QUESTIONS, THE FRG SHOULD STRESS THE TWIN

THEMES OF CLOSE RELATIONS WITH THE US AND WESTERN EUROPEAN UNITY.

C. DEBTS: CONCERN WAS VOICED OVER THE INCREASING HARD CURRENCY DEBT OF CEMA COUNTRIES, ESTIMATED AT \$30 BILLION. THE AMBASSADORS CONCLUDED THE DEBT HAD NOT YET REACHED THE CRITICAL POINT. "ALL BILLS ARE BEING PAID."

D. CSCE: THE FINAL ACT HAS PROVEN TO BE A USEFUL POLICY TOOL IN RELATIONS WITH THE EAST, ESPECIALLY WITH POLAND DURING THE GIEREK VISIT. THE CONCESSIONS CONTAINED THEREIN HAVE INTRODUCED ELEMENTS OF UNEASINESS IN USSR-EE RELATIONS. ONE MOTIVE BEHIND THE NEW USSR-GDR TREATY WAS THE DESIRE TO DEMONSTRATE THAT RELATIONS WITHIN EASTERN EUROPE WERE NOT AFFECTED BY CSCE.

E. MBFR: THE SOVIETS ARE AFRAID OF MBFR BECAUSE THEY BELIEVE IT COULD LEAD TO LOSS OF THEIR CONVENTIONAL CONFIDENTIAL

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ADVANTAGE IN CENTRAL EUROPE. THIS FEAR LIES BEHIND THEIR INSISTENCE ON WESTERN ACCEPTANCE OF PRESENT DISPARITIES AND ON EUROPEAN (READ FRG) REDUCTIONS.

F. ECPC: THE SOVIETS WANTED TO USE THE CONFERENCE TO REINFORCE MOSCOW'S LEADERSHIP ROLE. FONOFF SOURCES WHO BRIEFED US ON CONCLUSIONS OF THE AMBASSADORIAL CONFERENCE THOUGHT THAT BREZHNEV HAD

CLEVERLY MAINTAINED THE USSR'S CLAIM TO LEADERSHIP IN HIS SPEECH IN BERLIN.

G. THIRD WORLD: SOVIET POLICY TOWARDS THE THIRD WORLD IS A MIXED SUCCESS, WITH ANGOLA THE MOST SIGNIFICANT, BUT STILL MARGINAL, RECENT GAIN. THE AMBASSADORS AGREED THAT THE WEST SHOULD STAND FIRM AGAINST THE SOVIETS.

2. AN INTERESTING DIVERGENCE OF OPINION EMERGED IN A DISCUSSION OF THE USSR'S STRENGTHS AND WEAKNESSES. POLITICAL DIRECTOR VAN WELL IN HIS PRESENTATION STRESSED SOVIET STRENGTH, ESPECIALLY MILITARY STRENGTH. HE HELD OUT AT LENGTH ON THE NUMBER OF SOVIET TANKS IN CENTRAL

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EUROPE. WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING STRATEGIC PARITY BETWEEN THE US AND USSR, VAN WELL MADE A GREAT DEAL OUT OF SOVIET STRENGTH ON THE CENTRAL FRONT. THE AMBASSADORS, ON THE OTHER HAND, WERE MORE IMPRESSED BY SOVIET TROUBLES IN EASTERN EUROPE AND WITH EAST EUROPEAN GOVERNMENTS.

3. ANOTHER INTERESTING DIVERGENCE OF APPROACH AROSE OVER BERLIN. SCHMIDT STRESSED IN HIS PRESENTATION THAT
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THE CENTRAL QUESTION IS ONE OF VIABILITY OF THE CITY.

GENSCHER, ON THE OTHER HAND, EMPHASIZED THE PROBLEM OF REPRESENTATION OF THE WESTERN SECTORS AND ITS INHABITANTS BY THE FRG. THE AMBASSADORS AGREED THAT THE EE COUNTRIES ARE FOLLOWING THE SOVIET LINE ON BERLIN MUCH MORE CLOSELY NOW THAN BEFORE THE QA. THEY AGREED THAT SINCE THE QA DEFINED THE BERLIN QUESTION MORE PRECISELY, IT TOOK AWAY FROM THE EE COUNTRIES SOME LATITUDE THEY HAD HAD ON BERLIN QUESTIONS.

4. THE AMBASSADORS REPORTED THAT THEY ARE EXPERIENCING INCREASING DIFFICULTY IN REPRESENTING BERLINERS. THE EE COUNTRIES ALLOW THE FRG EMBASSY TO REPRESENT BERLINERS IN, FOR EXAMPLE, INHERITANCE CASES, ONLY IF THE INDIVIDUAL IS PRESENT IN THE EE COUNTRY.

5. THE SITUATIONS IN INDIVIDUAL EE COUNTRIES WERE NOT DISCUSSED IN DETAIL. EACH AMBASSADOR SUBMITTED A WRITTEN REPORT ON HIS COUNTRY. GAUS' (FRG REP IN THE GDR) REPORT WAS LEAKED (REFTEL). THE SALIENT POINTS MADE IN THE DISCUSSION WERE:

A. YUGOSLAVIA: THERE IS REASON TO BE RELATIVELY OPTIMISTIC ABOUT THE POST-TITO ERA. THERE WAS NO DOUBT EXPRESSED ABOUT THE COUNTRY'S WILL TO DEFEND ITS INDEPENDENCE.

B. ROMANIA: RELATIONS WITH THE USSR ARE UNDER TENSION, WITH THE USSR DETERMINED TO BRING ROMANIA BACK INTO LINE. CEAUSESCU'S POPULARITY HAS DECLINED SHARPLY.

C. POLAND: GIEREK'S VISIT TO THE FRG WAS A BILATERAL SUCCESS. DURING HIS VISIT GIEREK SUPPORTED SOVIET POLICY ON ALL IMPORTANT QUESTIONS. HE TOLD THE GERMANS THAT THE USSR HAD NOT CONSULTED WITH EE GOVERNMENTS BEFORE IT RELEASED ITS MAY 22 STATEMENT ON EAST-WEST RELATIONS.

D. EE LEADERS: THE MOST POPULAR ARE GIEREK, CONFIDENTIAL

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KADAR AND ZHIVKOV. THE LEAST: HONECKER, HUSAK, AND CEAUSESCU.

6. THE FRG AMBASSADOR IN MOSCOW (SAHM) ARGUED STRONGLY FOR MORE FLEXIBILITY IN DEALING WITH THE SOVIETS. HE ARGUED THAT THE FRG SHOULD BE PREPARED TO ACCEPT SOVIET PROPOSALS THAT DO NO HARM, EVEN IF THEY PROMISE NO BENEFIT. HE CITED THE THREE SOVIET POST-CSCE CONFERENCE PROPOSALS AS EXAMPLES WHERE THE FRG COULD BE MORE FLEXIBLE. HE WAS REBUFFED ON THE GROUNDS THAT OTHER WESTERN COUNTRIES DID NOT LIKE THESE THREE PROPOSALS.

7. COMMENT: THE AMBASSADORIAL CONFERENCE WAS PROPOSED TO GENSCHER EARLY IN THE YEAR. IT TOOK PLACE IN JUNE ONLY BECAUSE THERE WAS SOME ROOM IN GENSCHER'S SCHEDULE. WE DO NOT FIND ANY OF THE CONCLUSIONS OR REPORTED POSITIONS SURPRISING, ALTHOUGH SOME APPEAR QUESTIONABLE.
HILLENBRAND

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DETENTE, INTELLIGENCE ASSESSMENTS, GOVERNMENT REACTIONS, MEETINGS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 07 JUL 1976
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976BONN11444
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Film Number: D760261-1142
From: BONN
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t19760785/aaaacwwx.tel
Line Count: 258
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ACTION EUR
Original Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: CONFIDENTIAL
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: 76 BONN 11070
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 31 MAR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <31 MAR 2004 by greeneet>; APPROVED <04 AUG 2004 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: FRG VIEWS ON EASTERN EUROPE
TAGS: PFOR, GE, XH, (SCHMIDT, HELMUT)
To: STATE
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006